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COTTON.

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T H E  
COTTON QUESTION.

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An inquiry into the standing and prospects  
of the Cotton States of America, in  
comparison with the Production  
of Cotton in the rest of the  
World, especially  
India.

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*PRESENTED BY THE*

Southern Fertilizing Co.,

RICHMOND, VA.

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### *Range of Inquiry.*

1. Cotton before the war.
2. What was accomplished by the "Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, England," in opening up new fields and stimulating old ones.
3. The Cotton demand; its bearings both in respect of America and India.
4. The Cotton manufacture, especially in the South.
5. Cotton production in the South, and what is needed to to make it profitable.

DEC 23 1944

SOURCE UNKNOWN

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NOTE.—In arranging the material of the following pages resort has been had, in all cases, to the most authentic sources of information. Our object will have been gained if what we have urged has the effect to cheer up our people in the Cotton country, and enable them to reap a reward of comfort, instead of the bitter despondency that has too often, of late years, followed the close of the year's work.

WM. H. PALMER, *President.*  
JOHN ENDERS, *Vice President.*  
JOHN OTT, *Secretary.*



W. H. TAYLOR, *Chemist,*  
*State Chemist and Assayer.*  
W. H. GILHAM, *Ass't Sec'y.*

## THE SOUTHERN FERTILIZING COMPANY,

*RICHMOND, Va., January 25, 1876.*

TO OUR FRIENDS:

In the document we submitted last winter, for the better information of our people, in connection with the Cotton crop, we gave, very fully, the figures showing its production and movement throughout the world. We propose now to present some observations on the matter in another aspect, namely, the standing and prospects of our own Cotton country in comparison with the production at large, and in particular of India.

We will be pardoned for indulging here in a few words referring to the early history of this staple. Agriculture can hardly be much older than the art of spinning and weaving, for men had to be clad as well as fed. Outside of the Scriptures, our knowledge of very early times is extremely limited, and the Scriptures say nothing of Cotton. And still we do not doubt that it was used from the beginning in the regions where it was indigenous in any abundance; indeed, HERODOTUS (450 B. C.) described the Cotton fabrics of India much as we find them now, the very perfection of human ingenuity. In Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and Spain, wool was mainly used; in the countries north of these, hemp; in Egypt, flax; and in China, silk. Among the cultivated peoples along the Mediterranean quite as great value was attached to the exquisite muslins of India as the fine linen of Egypt. Considering the stress laid upon the Cotton goods of India by the generals of Alexander, it is highly probable that the trade in these goods with the people of the west really dates from this expedition of that great soldier (325 B. C.). The Cotton plant is indigenous to China, Cen-



tral Africa and America. If so in other portions of the world, history has failed to attest the fact with certainty. Although it was a garden plant in China for hundreds of years, still no attempt to utilize it was made until the thirteenth century. The growth of the plant spread westward with the movements of the Saracens; in fact, there is little doubt but that the manufacture of the article was understood and practiced in Arabia perhaps before the Christian era. As one or the other of the countries of Europe got the ascendancy in the trade of the East Indies, the manufactured article found its way throughout all the nations of Christendom.

*Our* interest in Cotton begins *when* ELI WHITNEY *invented the Cotton Gin*. This memorable event occurred in the year 1793, in Georgia, on the plantation of Gen'l Greene. It is said to have come about in this wise: Mr. Whitney (a native of Massachusetts) was employed as a tutor in the family of Gen'l Greene. One day, the General, in conversation with his wife, observed what a future there would be for Cotton if some contrivance could be arranged by which the lint might be rapidly separated from the seed, when Mrs. Greene rejoined that if anybody could make such a machine she was sure it was Mr. Whitney. He had, from time to time, constructed for her ingenious little household conveniences. Thus encouraged, he set about the work, and with no better aid than the rude tools of the neighboring smith's shop, produced the Cotton Gin. Previous to that time the seeds were picked out by hand; hence the impossibility of any material production beyond the immediate wants of those who grew it.

The cheapness of Cotton, as compared with all other material used for clothing, has brought it into universal consumption; and so no question affecting the comfort of the world can be more vital than that of the adequate and regular supply of this staple. Besides, without clothing there can be no civilization.

## I.—Cotton before the War.

The use of Cotton, as far as the wants of Europe and the peoples of the west in general were concerned, made but limited headway before the invention of the Cotton Gin by Whitney. When Cotton began to find its way to England from India, both raw and in fabrics, the woolen manufacturers raised such an opposition to it that Parliament actually passed laws prohibiting the use of calico, either as clothing or furniture, under a penalty of £200 on the buyer and seller. It, however, continued to be used; the consumption growing gradually from year to year. The only gin, or machine for separating the seed, employed prior to Whitney's, was the "*Churka*," of India. Nothing could be ruder or more unsatisfactory, at least in our eyes. Two uprights, twenty inches long, fastened into a stout piece of wood, supported two rollers, eleven inches wide; the lower one of wood, two and one-eighth inches in diameter, and the upper one of iron, three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The lower roller was worked by the right hand (the handle being like that on common well-gear), and the seed Cotton fed in with the left. Attached to the other end of the upper roller was a wheel, two feet four inches in diameter, which was turned by an assistant with his right hand, the left being used to remove the Cotton from the rollers as it came through. The staple was not injured, but the day's work seldom went beyond from twenty to thirty pounds.

The inventive genius of ARKWRIGHT, HARGREAVES, CROMPTON, and others, had been busy for some years, perfecting machinery to spin and weave Cotton. In 1782, JAMES WATT adapted his steam engine to the working of machinery other than the pumping out of mines. Every needed preliminary indeed to Whitney's invention appeared to be provided. No region in the world, in point of climate, was better suited to the growth of this crop than the southern portion of this country; besides, it had {this other advantage, great convenience to the European markets. This region was soon overspread with persons who were either holders of negro slaves, or willing to use them. Aside from the efforts of the English and Dutch, in bringing slaves to this country, the merchants of New England were largely engaged in the business, and in this trade they were protected by constitutional enactment until the year 1808. As the cost of this property in Africa was insignificant, the profits realized were very handsome, despite the loss by death resulting from over-crowded ships, and undoubtedly made no incon-

siderable figure in laying the foundation of New England prosperity.\* The soil in the Cotton region was virgin and very fertile, and nothing opened to the people a fairer prospect of profit than the utilization of their slave labor in the growth of Cotton. Added to the convenience of location was the other advantage of superiority of staple as compared with the East Indian product.

The whole crop of this country in 1791 was 2 000,000 pounds; of 1792, 3,000,000. Whitney's gin coming into use in 1793, the crop began to advance rapidly in proportions. In 1796 it reached 10,000,000 pounds; in 1800, 35,000,000 pounds; in 1810, 85,000,000 pounds; in 1820, 160,000,000 pounds; in 1830, 350,000,000 pounds; in 1840, 834,000,000 pounds; in 1850, 958,000,000 pounds; and in 1860, 2,241,000,000 pounds!—And then the war came.

Through the efforts of English philanthropists, mainly of WILBERFORCE, the slave trade was finally abolished. All shipments then directly from Africa had to be made clandestinely; and the supplies from this source, added to the natural increase of those already in the Cotton country, proved so inadequate to provide the raw material demanded by the growing consumption of Cotton goods in this country and Europe, that regions beyond had to be drawn upon for labor. The price of good field hands accordingly advanced to \$1,000 and upwards, when Virginia, and other slave States north of the Cotton region, parted with a portion of their wealth in this shape to supply the deficiency. So urgent, indeed, had the question of labor become, immediately prior to the war, that this admission was freely made: "It must be considered that the *maximum* producing power of the present slave population

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\* See "*Slavery*," THORNTON, p. 21, *et seq.*—It appears that a citizen of Boston started the slave trade in this country, and it occurred in the year 1645; and his example was followed by others in his section, especially Rhode Island. In the Custom House records of Charleston, S. C. (we know not what was done at the other Southern ports), are found the entries of 202 cargoes of negro slaves, numbering altogether 39,075, during the four years from 1804 to 1807 inclusive. Of this number, 3,914 were owned by persons in Bristol, R. I.; 3,488 by Newport; 556 by Providence, and 280 by Warren; 200 by Boston; 250 by Hartford, and 200 by Philadelphia. By citizens of the late slaveholding States, 3,443; and by British owners, 19,649. The first cargo of slaves brought to Virginia was by the Dutch in 1670; Amsterdam, in her corporate capacity, shared in the slave traffic. We have historical data showing that Queen Elizabeth was a joint partner in John Hawkins's American slave operations; and that the business enjoyed the patronage of the Stuarts and Queen Anne. But Great Britain never does things by halves; hence her achievements in the slave trade went beyond those of any other nation in the world. From the year 1700 to 1786, her merchants brought into Jamaica alone 610,000. As nearly as can be ascertained, her trade in slaves, to all points, embraced over 3,000,000, *delivered*; how many perished in the "middle passage" of course can never be known. At \$100 each, the gross sum realized would be \$300,000,000!



has been attained, while consumption is everywhere stimulated to the utmost, and constantly extending.”—(NEILL BROS. Dec. 1859.)

The following table (NOURSE; OTT-TRUMPLER) will show the consumption of America and Europe in 1859-’60 and 1860-’61:

	1859-’60.			1860-’61.		
	American.	E. Indian.	Other Growths.	American.	E. Indian.	Other Growths.
American consumption, bales ....	978,043	.....	.....	843,740	.....	.....
English “ “ ..... 2,135,000	2,135,000	207,000	218,000	2,170,000	249,000	193,000
Continental “ “ ..... 1,272,000	1,272,000	385,000	55,000	1,275,000	425,000	78,000
Total consumption, ..... 4,385,043	4,385,043	592,000	273,000	4,286,740	674,000	271,000

Or, 5,350,043 bales in 1859-’60, and 5,231,740 bales in 1860-’61. Our Cotton pamphlet of last winter shows in detail (page 7) American production, consumption, exports, &c., since 1826. We are able to see how immensely Cotton displaced all other material used in the clothing of mankind, when we compare, say English consumption in 1786 with that of the Cotton year ending in 1860. Mr. McCULLOCH gives the figures for 1786 as follows:

From British West Indies.....	5,800,000 pounds.
“ French and Spanish Colonies.. ..	5,500,000 “
“ Dutch Colonies.....	1,600,000 “
“ Portuguese Colonies.....	2,000,000 “
“ Smyrna and Turkey.....	5,000,000 “
Total.....	19,900,000 “

Or 45,250 bales, as against 2,560,000 bales in the year 1860.

A definite idea of the magnitude of what was involved in this interest with us, say in 1840, can be gotten from the following figures (DE BOW):

1. 1,200,000 slaves, at \$500 each.....	\$600,000,000
2. Land, 4,500,000 acres, at \$10.....	45,000,000
3. Land in grain, 6,300,000 acres, at \$10.....	63,000,000
4. Land in timber, pasture, &c., 14,000,000 acres, at \$3 .....	42,000,000
5. Mules and Horses, 400,000, at \$100.....	40,000,000
6. Hogs and Sheep, 4,500,000, at \$1.....	4,500,000
7. Cattle, 300,000, at \$5 .....	1,500,000
8. Ploughs, 500,000, at \$2.....	1,000,000
9. Wagons, and other plantation implements, &c.....	1,000,000
Total.....	\$798,000,000

From the same source of information we get the following statement, showing the result of the year's work in 1852, on a well conducted plantation in South Carolina:

Capital invested ..... \$150,152 00

INCOME OF THE FARM:

331,136 lbs. of lint cotton, at 6 cents per lb..... \$19,868 16

Bacon and other provisions ..... 2,430 00

Increase of negroes, say 5 per cent., set down as capital at \$89,000, 4,495 00

26,793 16

*Deduct* expenses of the farm, including freight and commission ..... 6,791 48

Net profits on capital invested..... \$20,001 68

Or, something over 13 per cent. The cotton brought 6 cents in Charleston. At 8 cents, the profits would have been \$26,614.40, or nearly 18 per cent.

With the world for a customer, our people in the Cotton country were indeed prosperous. A simple inspection of the following figures (*"Ruggles's Analysis U. S. Census"*) will exhibit the growth of their wealth in but three directions, from 1850 to 1860:

STATES.	1850.			1860.		
	CASH VALUE OF FARMS.	CASH VALUE FARMING IMPLEMENTS.	CASH VALUE FARM STOCK.	CASH VALUE OF FARMS.	CASH VALUE FARMING IMPLEMENTS.	CASH VALUE FARM STOCK.
North Carolina.....	\$67,891,766	\$3,931,532	\$17,717,647	\$143,301,065	\$5,873,942	\$31,130,805
South Carolina.....	82,431,684	4,136,354	15,060,015	139,652,508	6,151,657	23,934,465
Georgia.....	95,753,445	5,894,150	25,728,416	157,072,803	6,844,387	38,372,734
Florida .....	6,323,109	658,795	2,880,058	16,435,727	900,669	5,553,356
Alabama .....	64,323,224	5,125,663	21,690,112	175,824,622	7,433,178	43,411,711
Mississippi.....	54,738,634	5,762,927	19,403,662	190,760,367	8,826,512	41,891,692
Louisiana .....	75,814,398	11,576,938	11,152,275	204,789,662	18,648,225	24,546,940
Texas.....	16,550,008	2,151,704	10,412,927	88,101,320	6,259,452	42,825,447
Arkansas .....	15,265,245	1,601,296	6,647,969	91,649,773	4,175,326	22,096,977
Tennessee.....	97,851,212	5,360,210	29,978,016	271,358,985	8,465,792	60,211,425

War was declared in 1861, and that year must ever stand as the dividing line in our career. Slave labor was deemed necessary to the successful production of Cotton, and so it is highly probable that the pressure for such labor, incident to the increasing demand for the staple, would have occasioned trouble, if there was nothing else to bring it on. If any one will take the pains to examine the *"Secret Debates on the Constitution of the United States,"* he will see that harmony between the sections was then by no

means a normal condition. However, after its adoption, through the influence mainly of WASHINGTON, which did not end with his death, oil and water were for the time made to mix. Then and now it would be hard to find two peoples much more diverse in sentiment and social features than the North and the South. We were good customers to the North, buying much, and furnishing raw material in abundance for it to work up. As agricultural people we cared for little else; while the North, less favored by nature in soil and location, took to trade and manufactures; and, to keep it going, such helps as fishing bounties and high protective tariffs were resorted to. Of course it would have been comfortable to the South to take advantage of the cheap labor of foreign countries in its purchases, especially as these countries were its largest customers, but, for the sake of the Union, it submitted to the tariff, and thus gave to build up the North millions that might have been kept at home. As time passed, New England's mind revolted against the business of slavery. The movement, however, did not take the direction of an expression of sincere regret at the hand she had in it, nor a disposition to refund any of the money she made out of it; on the contrary, the South only was to blame; and what with violent harangues, newspapers (*"The Liberator,"* for example,) denouncing the Constitution of the United States as "a league with the devil and a covenant with hell;" and emissaries sent South to foment discontent among the slaves, we could look for no better fruit than a bitterness of feeling tending to blood, and blood came of course. In the time to come, when history shall take up and dispose of the case, with even-handed justice, we are willing to stand to the record.

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## 2.—What was accomplished by the "Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, England," in opening up new fields, and stimulating old ones.

Lancashire began to grow uneasy a few years before the war on the subject of a supply of Cotton to her factories that could be depended upon, from year to year, with absolute confidence. The great convenience of America in the matter of location, the fine staple it produced, and its really low price, considering quality, as compared with that of all other growths, had lulled her to repose, and she had gone on, steadily adding to her spindles, until in 1857 English capital invested in Cotton manufactures reached about \$300,000,000. It did not require the wisdom of Solomon, looking at the manner in which bad blood was being made in America, to under-



stand what was coming. And if the conflict did come, not only Lancashire, but all England, would be shaken, should this Cotton interest be left without adequate supplies of the raw material. The result of the agitation was the formation, in 1857, of that justly celebrated organization known as the "COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATION OF MANCHESTER." This association at once set on foot systematic inquiry in all the countries of the world (the United States excepted, of course) where the cultivation of Cotton might likely become, with proper encouragement, a permanent business. To push the enterprise with greater vigor, they started a publication in August, 1858, called the "*Cotton Supply Reporter*." Nothing could be more vehement than the appeals that appeared from month to month in this paper; indeed, from the way in which it belabored the government for its tardy movements, one would have supposed that Her Majesty, and the whole ruling power, in fact, belonged to the geological era.

The following extract (Dec. 1, 1858) is a mild sample of its rhetoric:

"Ten millions sterling—*dead loss*—and that annually, [America was claimed to be over-paid that much] ought to be sufficient to rouse English energy, and fix the determination at once in every man knowing the fact, that he will do what in him lies to agitate this great question; for it is a question for every householder and purchaser of a single yard of calico. It affects all trades—all interests. The palaces of the home trade in this city [Manchester] are built upon Cotton; the stability of those palaces depends upon *cheap Cotton*; the tens of thousands of this "nation of shop keepers," and especially of drapers, live chiefly by Cotton; and it is sheer imbecility, year after year, passively to watch the efflux of *ten millions* lost, while we have the means in our hands of improving the condition of our industrial classes, and of converting this loss into twenty or thirty millions saved. We could obtain Cotton from Africa or India. By doing so, we should save not only our annual ten millions, but create markets that would take far more than an equivalent of our manufactures in return. Every year would widen our market. In ten years, we should at least have saved *one hundred millions*—an eighth part of our national debt, instead of paying for our folly at the rate of

#### ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS IN TEN YEARS!

*This is the Cotton Supply Question!*

One-fifth of ten millions would be sufficient to construct a railroad connecting Bombay with the valley of the Berar, which, it is affirmed, will supply Lancashire with *all the Cotton she requires*, for 2½ pence per pound, land and sea charges included!"

*Everything*, in fact, that could move men was appealed to. The "dead loss" Lancashire had been so long sustaining was peculiarly distressing, inasmuch as her cotton manufactures had not for years yielded a clear dividend of *more* than from 25 to 30 per cent. on the capital invested!

The old men, however, even among the manufacturers, believing in ADAM SMITH, felt sure that the magic law of supply and demand would bring



all the Cotton they wanted, and were slow to move. They judged the world as the philanthropists did the negro, from their own stand-point, and were as badly mistaken. Nothing daunted, the Association pressed on. It utilized the efforts of missionaries, like LIVINGSTON, MOFFAT, ELLIOT and WILLIAMS; it waked up the government at last, and gave tone to at least an occasional clap of thunder from "*The Times*;" it sent to New Orleans for Cotton seed by the cargo, and bought Cotton gins in great numbers, which it distributed in every country that gave any promise of returns; it gave most especial attention to India, establishing experimental gardens, worked by skilful English and Scotch gardeners, sending out experienced Cotton-growers from the United States, petitioning the Indian government to encourage the ryot by making more liberal the land tenure, subscribing liberally to build railways to bring the Cotton from the interior to the seaboard, improving the prevailing methods of irrigating the land in dry seasons; everything, in short, that men could do to assure an abundant Cotton supply, let America do what she would. The vigor displayed was simply unparalleled outside of arms.

The war came in America, and all too soon, for the Association's wards were only in the first years of their apprenticeship. They lived, besides, in countries where oppression was the rule, and liberty the exception, and where usage had, through centuries of thralldom, become a law that bound them with bands of iron. It required an extraordinary stimulus to break such lethargy, and that stimulus came. The blockade of our Southern ports was decreed, and this cut off all further supplies from America, unless perchance daring captains could be found who, for large pay, would risk capture or destruction. Prices began to advance, and shortly moved with bounds.—"Middling uplands" that in 1860 sold for 6½ pence, brought in 1861 8½ pence; in 1862, 17½ pence; in 1863, 23½ pence; and, in 1864, 27½ pence.—"Fair Pernams" that sold in 1860 for 8½ pence, brought in 1861, 9¾ pence; in 1862, 18½ pence; in 1863, 24½ pence; and, in 1864, 28¾ pence.—"Fair Surats" that reached in 1860 only 5 pence, advanced in 1861 to 6½ pence; in 1862 to 12½ pence; in 1863 to 19½ pence; and in 1864 to 21½ pence.—(ELLISON & Co.)

The stimulus of these prices did the work, but only partially. Countries that before made only a sorry figure in the trade, and some none at all, began to ship to England heavily. Mexico went from nothing in 1861 to 25,000,000 pounds in 1864; the British West Indies, that showed but 485,000 pounds in 1861, ran up to nearly 27,000,000 pounds in 1864; Colombia and Venezuela became quite respectable; Brazil, that seldom reached 20,000,000 pounds prior to 1862, began to advance, and went to over 55,000,000 pounds in 1865. Egypt advanced from 41,000,000 pounds in 1861 to 177,000,000 pounds in 1865; the other countries on the Mediterra-

mean did well also, their shipments increasing from less than 600,000 pounds in 1861 to over 27,000,000 in 1865. China, that was always a heavy buyer from India, to make up her deficiency in production, not only ceased to import any, but actually spared to England as much as 86,000,000 pounds in 1864. Other countries, minor sources of supply, responded well; their shipments, in the aggregate, increased from 9,000,000 pounds in 1861 to nearly 34,000,000 pounds in 1864. India, above all other countries, showed what the "Cotton Supply Association" had done, considered aside from the stimulus of price. Her shipments steadily advanced from 369,000,000 pounds in 1861 to 615,000,000 pounds in 1866. Taking a general view of the situation, and we find that Great Britain imported in 1860, 1,390,938,752 pounds of raw Cotton, of which we furnished 1,115,890,608 pounds, leaving the supply from other countries 275,048,144 pounds; or our contribution was *over four times as much as the rest of the world put together*. In 1872 the British import was 1,408,837,472 pounds, of which we furnished 625,600,080 pounds, leaving the supply from other sources 783,237,392 pounds. We appear then to have fallen off in the good graces of this excellent customer since 1860 nearly fifty per cent.; and other countries have gained two hundred per cent. And this result cannot pass unheeded by us if we are at all mindful of our interests.

The labors of the Association have demonstrated, beyond question, this fact: *the Southern States of America no longer necessarily hold a monopoly of the Cotton crop*. It can be grown with success throughout the whole of the zone, bounded by the line of 43 degrees North latitude, and 33 degrees South latitude. We wish our friends would take the map and accompany us in the examination of this zone. It will be found to cover the West Indies, a large portion of North and South America; Southern Europe and all of Africa explored, Southern Asia from Syria to China, the Indian Archipelago, including Northern Australia. To every country, great and small, in this zone, the Association lent its aid in seed, gins and instruction. As will be seen, Cotton is now a standard staple crop in India, Brazil, China and Egypt. We close with the words of Mr. Secretary WATTS, of the "Cotton Supply Association": "It cannot reasonably be expected that in any new Cotton-growing country results can be speedily obtained, which, in America, have only been secured after many years of patient, continuous effort and skilful enterprise. With a rare combination of facilities and advantages, made available by a degree of skill and enterprise not to be expected everywhere, the American Cotton trade continued through a long series of years to increase in magnitude and importance. The natural advantages, however, may not be greater than exist elsewhere, and if the American supply were hopelessly lost, and it became a necessity to find other sources, would the manufacturing industry of Great Britain in that case become extinct?"



Not so, and it has been sufficiently shown that other countries would then be able by degrees to meet the emergency. To do this fully, must, of necessity, be a work of time, but that it could be done has been abundantly demonstrated. The little which there had been time to accomplish, prior to the Cotton famine, tended to mitigate that calamity, and to direct attention without delay to those parts of the world most likely to afford speedy relief."

### 3.—The Cotton demand; its bearings both in respect of America and India.

Cotton must continue to be the money crop of the Southern States. If they could raise a large surplus of grain, the North-west would contest the market with them at every step, the rich lands there acting as an offset to the difference in cost of transportation to the seaboard in favor of the South; besides, grain, outside of the hog crop, is their main dependence. If tobacco, this is a luxury, and its consumption by no means indefinite; indeed, acreage enough is already under this crop throughout the world to supply the demand with reasonable regularity. If live stock, the States west of the Mississippi, and the grass country in the region bordering on and north of the Ohio, to say nothing of the Middle States, furnish everything that is required in that direction. So, Cotton remains, and will remain, the standby of the States south of Virginia.

In examining the average prices of American, Brazilian and Indian Cotton in the Liverpool market, during each of the twenty years prior to 1861, we found them to be, in pence, as follows (ELLISON & Co.):

YEAR.	Middling Uplands.	Fair Pernam.	Fair Surat.	YEAR.	Middling Uplands.	Fair Pernam.	Fair Surat.	YEAR.	Middling Uplands.	Fair Pernam.	Fair Surat.	YEAR.	Middling Uplands.	Fair Pernam.	Fair Surat.
1841	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	1846	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1851	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1856	6 $\frac{5}{16}$	7	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1842	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	1847	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	7 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{9}$	1852	5 $\frac{5}{16}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1857	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1843	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1848	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1853	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	1858	6 $\frac{7}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1844	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	1849	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	1854	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	1859	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	5
1845	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	6	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	1850	7	7 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1855	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	1860	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 $\frac{3}{16}$	5

This question occurred to us as the result of this examination: Could means be devised by which we might again lay down Cotton in Liverpool, with profit, at something like these prices; and thus command the market

against the world? To get the best counsel possible on the subject, we sought the good offices of Mr. B. F. NOURSE (of Nourse, Dabney & Co., Boston). As an authority in connection with Cotton, it is only necessary to say that he holds rank with the eminent OTT-TRUMPLER, of Zurich. Mr. Nourse's reply to our inquiry is as follows:

"Your question is, "Have the improvements wrought in India production been such as to enable her to hold her present position, with American Cotton at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 pence per pound in Liverpool?"

"Eventually the answer will be determined by profit and loss. So long as Cotton can be produced in India with greater profit in average years than other great articles of export, the production of Cotton will be continued and increased, and, in nearly its present relative quantity; it would probably be continued, with gradual decline, for some years after other productions had been found to be more profitable, because of the losses and difficulties attending a change in the product of the labor of a numerous people. However low the price, and small the pay for labor, the millions of ryots must work at something to earn the cost of their simple living. The abnormal price for Cotton, caused by our war, forced an extension of the production of commercial Cotton (as distinguished from the great and unknown quantity raised for home use from the earliest historic times) in India, such as would have required decades, if not centuries, under the slow progress while our country supplied seven-eighths of all the Cotton fibre consumed by the commercial world. Yet the unceasing efforts of the "Manchester Cotton Supply Association," aided by the British and Indian governments, had made real, though slight progress in improving the quality, and increasing the quantity of exportable Indian Cotton before our war. It was mainly due to those efforts that India was in a condition to act upon and profit by that contingency instantly, and in so short a time as five years to increase the export to Europe from an average of about 350,000 bales per annum to 1,940,000 bales in a single year. Yet this would have been impossible but for the great works of internal improvement in India, begun some years before, and in good progress in 1860: railways for transportation (increasing from 25 miles in 1856 to 6,250 miles in 1874),\* and canals for irrigation. It is not easy to discover what return could have been made to the ryot in upper Bombay for the bale of Cotton brought hundreds of miles in a bullock cart, or in a hide boat, to the port, thence shipped by sail vessel to London, and then sold for 3 or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pence per pound, as in 1845 or 1854. Probably the export to Europe, prior to 1861, was a *dernier resort*, to find a market for such surplus as remained after supplying the demand for China and the home consumption; whatever it might fetch in excess of expenses of freight and sale being so much gained.

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\*The publishers of "*Poor's Manual of Railroads*" have done us the kindness to furnish the following figures in connection with railway progress in India:

1866.....3,568 miles.	1869.....4,787 miles.	1872.....5,383 miles.
1867.....3,937 "	1870.....4,833 "	1873.....5,799 "
1868.....4,017 "	1871.....5,078 "	1874 .... 6,251 "

The Messrs. POOR say: "The above mileage is as of December 31, for each year. The report for 1875 has not been made; but up to June of that year, the reported miles opened were 6,273; projected and authorized, and yet to be constructed, 2,158 miles." The "Cotton Supply Association" was, from the beginning, quite as active in this direction as in everything else necessary to assure the best returns from India.



“Now the case is widely different. The price of labor in India was increased by the new profit in Cotton-growing; but it is still very cheap, compared with the cheapest labor in our Cotton fields. But the greatest cheapening is in the cost of internal transportation, whereby the produce of the best lands, formerly too remote, now finds an accessible market. Gins, of improved make, have displaced the slow *churka*, and packing presses are located at all important places. The Cotton culture itself, and plantation management, are greatly improved since 1860. Taking all these great changes together, and not forgetting the transportation by steamers through the Suez canal, it is probably true that 4 pence per pound at Liverpool now would return to the average producer in India more than 5½ pence would have given him prior to 1855, or 5 pence in 1860.

“So far we have considered only the *production* of India Cotton. On the other side, is the question hardly less important of its *consumption*.

“Under the pressure of sore necessity in the Cotton famine, the toilers in the mills were grateful for any fibre that could employ the machinery and themselves. India Cotton, of the better sorts, was then used as it had never been before, and has never been since. By experiment it was found that No. 30 yarn could be made of Surat Cotton unmixed. It was found, too, that Surat, of fair average staple, was worth only 12½ per cent. less than upland American of equal grade and cleanliness, and often the two approximated by that difference only in price. But this was true only under the hard necessity of those times. No sooner had American Cotton again come in fair supply than the difference widened rapidly. The master spinners could not afford to reduce the product of their machinery 15 to 20 per cent, even if the difference in cost was found in the difference in the price of the Cotton. And another power had arisen, with the return of the American staple, the Operative Spinner's Unions. The operatives found that, in all stages of the work done by the piece, they lost by the use of the poorer staple, and they condemned it. In recent years, by the unwritten law or edict of the operatives, the use of Surat, or other short staple Cotton, has been prohibited to a large extent in many, if not most of the English mills, except for very coarse work. Employment seems to have been accepted upon the condition, tacit or expressed, that it should be used sparingly, if at all. The result of the combined objections to the use of India Cotton, when American can be had, appears in the following table, which states the number of bales of India Cotton imported to Great Britain; the number of bales and the per cent. of the import consumed there; the per cent. of India Cotton in the whole quantity (pounds) of all kinds consumed; and the per cent. of average yearly price of Fair Dhallorah (Surat) Cotton in comparison with middling upland (American) at Liverpool, in each of the last nine years:

## INDIA COTTON.

YEAR.	Imported to Great Britain. Bales.	Consumed in Great Britain. Bales.	Per cent. of Import consumed in Great Britain.	Per cent. of India Cotton consumed in total of all.	Per cent. value of Fair Dhallorah to Middling Uplands.
1866	1,847,760	922,340	50	39	77
1867	1,508,750	890,810	59	33	80
1868	1,451,070	801,290	55	30	81
1869	1,496,410	958,870	64	37	80
1870	1,062,540	708,260	67	25	82
1871	1,235,940	535,930	43	17	79
1872	1,288,120	689,420	54	22	71
1873	1,068,690	691,050	65	20	69
1874	1,040,920	671,380	64	20	66

“Not until 1870-’71 was a sufficient supply of American Cotton produced to increase its yearly surplus. Since American Cotton has become increasingly abundant in its proportion of the general supply, the *relative* price of Surat has fallen, and, strange to say, the proportion of Surat Cotton in the whole consumption has simultaneously diminished. Are we to infer that this rule of change will continue, and that the more abundant and cheap American Cotton becomes, the less is the relative value of India Cotton, and the more it is rejected? If yes, this fact alone will answer your question.

“The greater part of Indian Cotton imported to Europe, in recent years, has been consumed by the mills of the continent, though their consumption of all kinds was much less than in England. There, too, and in countries where it has been most largely used, the operatives have, for the last two years, been rebelling against its use, and demanding American staple.

“It seems then that Indian Cotton can be used in competition with American only at a price enough lower than that of the American, to cover—1. actual difference of loss in working; 2. loss in use of machinery; 3. higher wages to operatives, enough to overcome their actual loss and their prejudice; and, 4. the lesser market value of the goods produced from it.

“Should American middling fall to 4½ pence to 6 pence, these differences against the Surat should carry that down to a price at least as low relatively as that in 1874, or two-thirds of the price, making the price of Fair Dhallorahs then 3 to 4 pence.

“Then the question would remain, can Cotton be produced profitably in India for a price equal to 3 or 4 pence at Liverpool?

“Experience alone can make a decisive answer, and it must be the experience of several successive years, without the intervention of a year or two of higher prices, to renew the profit of Cotton growing in India. Assuming such abundant production of American Cotton as to hold the price of “Middling” at Liverpool below 6 pence per pound, with probability that such abundance would be continued, it is but reasonable to suppose that the consumption of India Cotton would gradually diminish, and so depress its price, that, after a few years, its production would also diminish, giving place to other productions, and that its export to Europe would again be as formerly, but little if any more than the yearly surplus remaining after supplying home consumption and the trade to China, Japan, &c.

“It is significant that the Cotton mills recently built in India, and supplied with the best of English machinery, find it necessary to import there American Cotton to mix with the best native for the most profitable manufacture, and that an import duty, lately levied by the Governor General upon the foreign Cotton so imported, is the cause of energetic remonstrance, as hindering, if not destroying, the prosperity of the new industry.

“Unable to make positive answer to your question, I have, as well as the time at my command would permit, grouped together such facts of the past and present, as seem to constitute the best basis for judgment, and leave them to carry their own inference.”

As indicating another way of handling the question, we submit some extracts from a private letter received by us from a gentleman well posted in Cotton matters:

“I will put the substance of your inquiry into another shape: If you can produce *at least* 5,000,000 of bales, with an average annual increase to cover the natural increase of consumption, the American Cotton will cause the import to Europe of Indian and minor kinds to be considerably reduced.

“If I make no mistake, the following were the averages for ten years—1849-'50 to 1858-'59: American crop, 2,990,000 bales; import to Europe of all other kinds, 762,000 bales, or  $25\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of your crop. Average price in Liverpool of N. O. Middlings, 5.64 pence. The averages for the two years 1872-73 and 1873-'74, were: American crop, 4,050,000 bales; imported to Europe of all other kinds, 2,567,000 bales, or 63 per cent. of your crop. Average price in Liverpool of N. O. Middlings, 9.08 pence.

“The deliveries in Europe, including Spain and the Baltic, for the last three seasons, 1872 to 1875, taking into account that spinners held less Cotton 30th September 1875 than on 1st October 1874; or more correctly expressed, the consumption has amounted, on an average, to 5,520,000 bales, which added to American consumption, 1,200,000 bales, gives 6,720,000 bales; so that even if your crop reaches 5,000,000 bales, we should still require 1,720,000 bales of other sorts, and this without taking into account that, on an average, there must be henceforth some increase of consumption.

“I do not think it would be of any use now to refer to prices before 1847-'50, when Middling Orleans was often worth 4 pence, sometimes less, and seldom worth more than 5 pence, except in periods of great excitement; for it would appear from the foregoing, that a price (average price) of about  $5\frac{5}{8}$  pence for Middling Orleans would do your business; but I do not mean to say that such conclusions can be relied upon. However, for some time since, when Middling American was to be had at  $6\frac{3}{4}$  and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  pence, laid down in Liverpool, the question was put, whether such a low price, equal to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  for fair Surats, would, if it continued, cause planting in India to be reduced? I am not sure of it, but some Cotton would be held back in India and some of the minor countries. Holding back, of course, can only be temporary. There is a long way from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  or  $6\frac{3}{4}$  to, say,  $5\frac{5}{8}$ .”

The following extract we take from a letter to us from one of the oldest Cotton houses in Liverpool:

“Both masters and men prefer working American Cotton to Indian, and the extent of consumption of either seems to be very much a question of the *relative* value which one bears to the other. We have heard a spinner estimate the intrinsic difference of value, between American and Indian, as one-third against Indian, chiefly from the staple being so much cut, and the waste therefore greater. Some manufacturers say that, for some purposes, they must have Indian Cotton, as it takes the dye much better, such as for the goods they call ‘Turkey red.’ The introduction of better machinery, and better seed, in some districts, have improved the Indian supplies; and while there is nothing now so fine as there used to be, there is nothing so low, and, on the whole, the supply is more useable. Our supplies from America are treated much the same; so little fair Cotton comes that our circulars do not quote the price of fair American. Although our prices have fallen to 7 pence for Middling Uplands, the consumption of Indian Cotton, for the past four years, as you will see in the weekly averages, gives for Indian Cotton about one third of American.”

THE information furnished by the foregoing extracts should so enlarge the view of our friends in the Cotton country, as to not only inspire a feeling of hopefulness, but a resolution to make the advantage they hold an absolute certainty for all time to come.



#### 4.—The Cotton manufacture, and especially in the South.

To say nothing of the demand consequent upon increase of population, as the people throughout the world of lesser civilization become, through trade, better acquainted with those who are in its full enjoyment, the consumption of Cotton will continue to advance. The figures, showing the consumption of the Cotton of commerce, have heretofore been furnished by M. OTT-TRUMPLER, of Zurich, for Europe; and the "*Commercial and Financial Chronicle*," of New York, for America. M. Ott-Trumpler, being now in his 74th year, the labor of collecting the material for his reports became so onerous, that he felt compelled to relinquish the work; besides, others had undertaken it on their own account, and did it well. ELLISON & Co., of Liverpool, will hereafter present these results. In their October Report we find as follows, to which we give our fullest assent, and share the regret expressed: "There is no publication connected with the Cotton trade which has, for so many years past, been looked forward to with so much interest as the Annual Circular issued by M. Ott-Trumpler, of Zurich. As a repertory of facts the report was invaluable, while its remarks on the condition and prospects of the trade were so uniformly well considered and impartial, that they were perused with the keenest interest, and accepted with the most complete confidence by a very wide circle of readers on the continent, in this country and in the United States. It was with regret, therefore, that in a previous report we announced that M. Ott-Trumpler had decided to discontinue the publication of his Annual Circular."

The following figures will exhibit at a glance the consumption by the mills of America and Europe during the last five years, as derived from the above-mentioned sources:

YEARS.	UNITED STATES. Bales.	GREAT BRITAIN. Bales.	CONTINENT. Bales.
1871 - -	1,019,446	3,114,780	2,365,000
1872 - -	1,137,540	3,265,620	1,981,000
1873 - -	1,251,127	3,183,710	2,193,000
1874 - -	1,222,913	3,248,120	2,369,000
1875 - -	1,242,080	3,105,120	2,341,000



The total spindles of the United States, in 1875, were 9,539,364, as against 7,114,000 in 1870; of Great Britain, 37,515,000 in 1874, as against 34,695,000 in 1870; the estimate for the Continent is 18,640,000. Our Cotton circular of last winter shows in detail the American and English Cotton manufacture; hence, it is needless here to do more than present these totals.

This question has undoubtedly occurred often to persons at all thoughtful: As the Cotton States produce the bulk of the Cotton needed by the world, why should they not manufacture all they grow? When the whole population of this country, extending as it does now from ocean to ocean, is no larger than that of France, and is located in a latitude blessed generally with both a favorable climate and most diversified resources, mineral as well as agricultural, the feeling naturally begotten of such surroundings is independence, and the habit extravagance. The struggle for life incident to compact populations does not operate; hence, a higher cost of production where manufactures are attempted, and a resort to tariffs for protection against the cheaper labor abroad. The manufactures inaugurated in this country are mainly confined to New England, its natural resources being poor as compared with the rest of the country, and the habits of its people, in consequence, enabling them to deal better with the economies necessary to be observed in such enterprises. On the 1st of July, 1875, there were in the United States, 875 establishments engaged in the Cotton manufacture, of which 516 were situated in New England. The South now is poor, and *compelled* to study the value of economies.

Looked at in the abstract, and with reference to the question of material prosperity, it was not wise in New England to work for the destruction of negro slavery in the South. As England had so much money involved, not only in the Cotton manufacture, but in the subjugation of India, the great competing Cotton field, if one did not know better, he would have supposed that the whole emancipation scheme on their part was commercial rather than philanthropical. The history of the opium trade between British India and China certainly gives strong color to the propriety of such a belief. The loss of her slave property in the West India possessions was the merest bagatelle compared with the destruction of that ugly competitor—Cotton production, and the growing Cotton manufacture, in the United States; indeed, we have seen people uncharitable enough to intimate that England *used* the peculiar fanatical turn of the religious mind of New England to deal the most effective blow. But the work was done; and we now have only to deal with the consequences. And what is the main point? The energy and enterprise which enabled the South, in little more than half a century, to supply over seventy-five per cent. of the world's demand for Cotton, *are no longer confined to that channel*. While it is true that our Cotton crops show now an aggregate as large as those grown before the war, their production

has been accomplished in a way altogether different from that prevailing then. Single minds then directed large bodies of laborers; now the work is too often done "on shares." The crop is made up more from an aggregate of small contributions than of large bulks from single plantations; and nothing demonstrates better the excellent management observed by the men who instructed these laborers than the uniformity of quality and condition, in respect of commercial requirements, resulting from this apparent chaos of producers. We have, therefore, ceased to be, in the South, an agricultural people by distinction, and are ready, to the extent of our ability, to devote the intelligence that gave our section character to something in addition to the business of the production of crude material, to indeed, *trade and manufactures both*; and it is desirable to know what we may reasonably count upon in the future in this direction.

Some years before the war, the Hon. CHARLES T. JAMES, of Rhode Island, prepared a paper on Cotton and Cotton manufactures at the South. In this paper, and it is by far the most admirable we have ever seen on the subject, he presented the advantages of our position with a strength of statement, and a copiousness of illustration, that would have secured a response from any other people than those who enjoyed as much worldly comfort as the planters of the South. Mr. James urged the planter to invest his surplus in this way. He showed, in substance, that water, the cheapest motive power, was abundant everywhere with us, and not often locked by ice; that the poorer white people among us would furnish, by proper instruction, which could be had, the best hands, and be glad to do it, as it would enable them to live better; that the negro labor unfit for the field could be made available for the work requiring less skill; that the manufacturer could save to the producer all the expense of bagging, ties, press, &c., and to himself all commissions, transportation, &c., by receiving it "in the seed" at the door of his mill; that capital invested in manufactures, managed with common prudence, always paid better than in the production of the crude material; that the eligible ports along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and the Mississippi river, would enable the manufacturer, at small cost for transportation, to reach any market, foreign or domestic; that this distribution of capital, between production of the raw material and manufactured goods, would prove an effectual check to over-production of the staple; in fact, every point of advantage that the circumstances would authorize a practical mind to recommend. Stern necessity has made willing ears; and Mr. James's words, if uttered now instead of then, would not have been in vain to his hearers. But, how stands the case? The men with us who before the war possessed wealth were generally left prostrate. It was the settled policy of Rome, when a people succumbed to its invincible legions, to induce them, by humane treatment and just government, to feel an honest pride in the



assertion, "I am a Roman citizen." This example was forgotten in the United States, albeit the North are Christians and they were pagans. The hideous crime of negro suffrage was committed, and that the men of the South might have their sufferings made the more exquisite, this mass of ignorance was managed by creatures, without character other than should bring the blush to a white face, backed by the cruel power of an unthinking government. Those who represented in the North the capital invested in Cotton manufactures, could not but see that the sceptre promised to pass from their hands as soon as things became so settled in the South that the advantages described by Mr. James might operate. While they doubtless entertained a sentimental regard for the negro, they felt little disposed to transfer any of their capital to this tempting field, when it might be taxed out of existence by legislatures composed of negroes and carpet-baggers. Notwithstanding the lack of aid, through bad government, from the indisposition of outside capital to venture much in this way in the Southern States, it is a source of great gratification to us to be able to present a statement like the following, from the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, showing the magnitude of this interest there. It is no mean comment upon the energy of its people, with any sort of a showing, the work being mainly their own :

STATES.	No. of Mills.	Number of Spindles.	Average size of Yarn.	Average Running Time.	Average consumption per Spindle.	Quantity consumed.
			No.	Weeks.	Lbs.	Bales.
Alabama, . .	14	58,480	12.75	45.50	114.51	14,561
Arkansas, . .	2	1,781	10.38	46.34	73.56	285
Georgia, . .	47	131,340	12.87	46.35	177.39	50,214
Louisiana, . .	3	2,260	8.50	50.	315.50	1,537
Mississippi, .	9	18,256	11.07	46.	110.60	4,291
North Carolina,	31	54,500	11.28	43.97	121.72	14,428
South Carolina,	18	70,282	14.	51.15	137.57	19,945
Tennessee, .	40	55,384	11.66	43.17	121.85	14,443
Texas, . . .	2	5,700	12.	50.63	172.34	2,117
Virginia, . .	9	54,624	15.22	51.63	115.85	11,985
Total, . .	175	452,607	—	—	—	133,806

The following figures, from the same source, indicate the steady growth of this interest in the South for several years past :

YEARS.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.
	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
Cotton taken by Southern mills,	90,000	91,240	120,000	137,662	128,526

These totals include the takings of the 6 mills in Kentucky and Missouri, which, in 1875, reached 11,273 bales. The decline in 1874 is explained by the panic.

The average size of yarn used in the North is about No. 28; in the South, about No. 12. With the growing disposition of the South to take care of itself, in respect of the coarser Cotton fabrics, the North, relieved of this demand, must find an outlet elsewhere, or give its whole attention to finer goods. The North works to a great disadvantage, as a competitor with England, inasmuch as its range in yarn, as many mills as it has, is only from 5 to 40, while the English is from 5 to 900! It is obvious that, for a general trade, the variety must be as great as possible. There are, however, countries, like China, for instance, where the North can beat England on the same lines of goods, the difference in its favor being a cent a pound on the raw material; but on these same lines (coarse goods and yarns) the Southern factories can beat the North worse than it beats England. On these goods our manufacturers will have to trade, outside of the domestic demand, until better government brings them money and skill enough to authorize the production of a greater variety. In the matter of its home trade, the North suffers again; for its goods are placed through intermediate agencies, and these agencies absorb "the lion's share" of the profits. This used to be the custom in connection with the sale of manufactured tobacco from Virginia, but this piece of machinery has been almost entirely dispensed with, the manufacturer dealing now *directly* with the jobber and retailer. We can understand the embarrassment of a New England manufacturer, subject, as he is, to a power as overwhelming as the resources of a STEWART. It is a question, in few words, with the mill-owners there, whether, through their influence, politically, they will continue to permit this interest in the South to be kept cramped, or correcting these evils, accept the immense advantages it offers, transfer their capital to that quarter, ask for a tariff of revenue instead of protection, and transact their business, at home and abroad, as they please.



## 5.—Cotton Production in the South; and what is needed to make it Profitable.

What is submitted under the foregoing heads indicates the standing of our Cotton production. Our labor is vain if it does not show that we may again enjoy a practical monopoly of this crop. The area on which Cotton can be grown *with profit* is large enough to bring *all* that is needed at our hands, provided it is made to do its work faithfully. Is this done? Our average yield of lint Cotton is less than half a bale to the acre. Mr. DODGE has been good enough to prepare for us the following table, showing the average product of lint Cotton per acre, since 1870, in the several Cotton growing States:

STATES.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
North Carolina .....	156	172	159	170	143	175
South Carolina.....	140	194	188	182	117	170
Georgia .....	126	136	184	180	120	173
Florida.....	115	100	126	125	85	165
Alabama .....	158	139	151	167	130	155
Mississippi.....	212	129	172	200	150	205
Louisiana .....	239	173	180	215	150	252
Texas.....	269	170	221	220	180	275
Arkansas .....	239	108	194	170	215	255
Tennessee.....	142	143	190	190	180	190
Average.....	179.6	146.4	176.5	181.9	147.0	201.5

Mr. Dodge observes, in connection with the above, "These averages are undoubtedly nearer correct than any from private guesses, so frequently published; but they may not be exactly true. Those of the South-west, in 1875, I think are too high, as fuller and corrected returns will probably show." Is such a result per acre good work? Let us see.

Col. LOCKETT, of Georgia, in 1869, by superior cultivation and manuring, produced on  $6\frac{1}{6}$  acres of chocolate colored limestone land, an average of  $1,420\frac{2}{3}$  pounds of *lint cotton*, or **THREE BALES TO THE ACRE.**

The following table shows the population of the Cotton States, and those engaged in agriculture, as per Census of 1870:

STATE.	WHITE.	NEGRO.	Population en- gaged in Agriculture.
Alabama.....	521,384	475,510	291,628
Arkansas.....	362,115	122,169	109,310
Florida.....	96,057	91,689	42,492
Georgia .....	638,926	545,142	336,145
Louisiana.....	362,065	364,210	141,467
Mississippi.....	382,896	444,201	257,199
North Carolina...	678,470	391,650	269,238
South Carolina...	289,667	415,814	206,654
Tennessee .....	936,119	322,331	267,020
Texas .....	564,700	253,475	166,753
	<hr/> 4,832,399	<hr/> 3,426,191	<hr/> 2,089,906

It has been intimated that, for party purposes, the census in the Southern States was made to show the negro population in full; but not the white. It was taken in mid-summer, when the whites who could afford to be absent from home in pursuit of health, were unable to answer to their names. But this circumstance affects more the city than the country, and hence the third column above may be taken as practically representing the agricultural community of the States in question.

We fully appreciate what is meant by the "*labor question*" in the Cotton States. Those who understand the negro know that he is efficient, as a laborer, only in proportion as his actions are subject to the management of the white man. The conduct of our rulers, since the war, was intended to make him in the highest degree unmanageable, as far as those who needed his services were concerned. He was made a sovereign (!) and therefore a repository of law-making power. We are full of hope that this outside pressure on him will be withdrawn, in all quarters, before long, and that he will settle down on the basis of manageable work. Whether the notion of his own importance (vanity is ever the most prominent characteristic of inferior peoples), will become tempered, time only can answer; we think it will. With things in the chaotic condition they have been for so long, no settled policy, of course, could be adopted in the matter of labor, looking to the best return of profit to the employer and the employed. But we believe that the time has come when this question should be systematically considered throughout the South, and the compact organization presented by the Grange should greatly facilitate a wholesome conclusion. In the July (1875) report of the *Department of Agriculture*, is a section devoted to the methods observed throughout the United States in arranging with farm laborers. The tendency of the negro in the Cotton country is shown by the following: "The effort to supercede the share system by substituting hired labor is

resisted by the inveterate prejudices of the freedmen, who desire to be masters of their own time, and hence prefer the share-contract system, which leaves them at their own disposal." Of the large plantations, not a few went into the Freedman's Bureau, or the Bankrupt Court. These estates are held by aliens, for the most part, or been squatted upon by negroes. Those still in the hands of owners have too much to be tenanted out "on shares," from lack of ability to run them otherwise. The smaller estates, where white men, the proprietors, perform the larger portion of the labor, we look to, with great hopes, for the early and more general adoption of the methods of improved agriculture, when the negro "on shares," through his faculty of imitation, will be brought in time to the maximum of his ability, working for himself. But improved agriculture is impossible so long as we insist upon the Cotton field bearing the entire expense of the establishment. If, as Col. Lockett has shown, it is possible to get as much Cotton from seven acres as from forty, it is absurd for us to provide labor and teams for the thirty-three acres difference. We would then get the full value of the fertilizers we bought, for we would do as Col. Lockett did, use them in conjunction with our domestic manures, and so present to the crop a perfect manure. Our attention thus concentrated on an area we could faithfully work, the Cotton crop would become what it ought to be, *our money crop*. We would then have time to make such a kitchen-garden as would supply all the vegetables needed by the household; to plant out some fruit trees, to furnish dessert for our tables, and the surplus dried, to put money in our pockets from the city people who need these things in winter; to raise hogs and fowls; to grow corn and forage enough for our stock, and wheat enough to supply at least the demands of our families. These things are possible; yea, practiced in those sections where thrift abounds. Will not every man who reads this book, and who has neglected to take advantage of these things, *at once* change his way of management? We were not created to be mere drudges, but to enjoy rationally the fruits of our labors. Is this possible on half a bale to the acre, and that half-bale required to support the whole farm? Merchants and manufacturers do not work in this way. Their heads were made for service, and they use them. Does the agricultural calling require less thought? Every man wants to lay up something for the children given him; certainly enough to take care of them until they can take care of themselves. How can he do this if he continues to go in debt a year ahead for the supplies he should produce for himself? Conducting his affairs in the manner we have indicated, and it is so entirely practicable, he would not only gain for himself an easy mind, but ceasing his dependence upon the North and West, he would secure better government. The desire for custom would soon set to flowing "the milk of human kindness," and his patronage might take the shape of such



luxuries as a reasonable man should enjoy. NO NORTH NOR WEST SHOULD FURNISH A POUND OF PORK, BUSHEL OF CORN, OR POUND OF HAY. The Lord has made full provision for us; are we men if we cannot make it available?

Considering the fact that we have repeatedly, of late years, produced a crop of 4,000,000 bales and upwards, which is as large a figure as was reached before the war, it might appear that what we urge has little foundation in fact; but, while such crops have been grown, where is the surplus the planter should have enjoyed from such a result? *In the pockets of the North and West*; because our people have raised *only* Cotton, and *bought* all the supplies they should have produced in addition. So, while the planter before the war made on his own place nearly everything his people needed, and consequently grew rich, our people remain as poor as ever; at least it is so claimed.

As to *cultivation*. Just here we will present an extract from the report of RIVETT-CARNAC, *Cotton Commissioner for the Central Provinces and the Berars, India*, (Bombay, 1869.) on the comparison between the India yield and American yield of lint Cotton per acre:

"The out-turn per acre has been taken at 80 pounds of clean Cotton in the best Cotton-growing tracts; at 50 pounds where the plant is not so successful; and at these rates the out-turn for 1868 would be about 2,297,500 bales of 400 pounds each. Deducting the exports, 1,676,000 bales, and there remains a balance of 621,600 bales for consumption in the country. The quantity retained for home consumption may appear small, being, if the population of India is taken at about 200,000,000, about one pound four ounces per head; or taking into account the cloth and yarns imported, the total weight of Cotton to each inhabitant would be about two pounds and five ounces. This may appear little, but the pair of *dhoties*, or loin cloths, which form the chief part of the man's dress, weigh, on an average, rather less than two pounds, or say, one pound each; and the generality of the people cannot afford to purchase more than one pair a year; the poorer classes wear one set for several years, according to their means. The women's dress is much lighter; and as for the children, who form no small body in the above estimate of the population, a very large proportion of them hardly know clothes at all. Under all these circumstances, I doubt the above estimate being found very wide of the mark. \* \* \* Of course, as compared with the United States, the small out-turn of India to the large acreage is noticeable. But, it will be remembered that, besides many other advantages, the lands of the States are, comparatively speaking, composed of 'virgin soil,' and new to Cotton, while for thousands of years the Indian districts have been worked with this crop. Indeed, I find that in some of the older districts of the United States, the out-turn per acre is

given as low as 112 pounds, as in the case of Florida, and this is not more than could be picked from a good field in the Valley of the Poornah in the Berars, whilst in a new country, Texas, for instance, the yield is put as high as from 337 to 400 pounds of clean Cotton."

The interest manifested by the Indian government in the matter of Cotton production, does not abate. The ryot is encouraged in many ways to better work; and he has been taught much in the matter of seed and cultivation. The late DAVID DICKSON, of Georgia, (and the Southern country, at any time, has produced few better or more useful men,) was consulted on both points; and they have given heed to his advice. It has been found that better results are obtained from a *continuous selection of seed* from the native varieties, than from exotic seed. Great attention is also being given to the matter of manures. The old style (quoting from the same authority), was as follows:

"A good Cotton-growing tract always means one free of all jungle; and the scarcity of fire-wood thereby occasioned, obliges the people to burn in large quantities the cow dung, which might otherwise with advantage be put down on the fields. There is, indeed, generally a good field in the village, close to the village site, and boasting of the name of "*Kari*" field, for which the head man of the village manages to save a little manure, and which is well known for its excellent crop. And perhaps it has a well in it; and a small patch is irrigated, and a garden crop is raised, and for such a patch a certain quantity of manure will always be spared. But, as a rule, it is only in such cases that manure can be used, although before the sowing season the most careful cultivators will be seen spreading the sweepings of their threshing floors over the fields. Moreover a great prejudice (whether rightly or wrongly I cannot say, until further experiments shall have decided the case) exists against using manure in any considerable quantity. The cultivators will tell you that manure with water—as, for instance, in the case of garden cultivation,—does excellently, and with a good rainfall, say they, its effects are excellent; but should the rainfall be scant, the manure will do more harm than good; it will excite the plant and drive it to wood, and the cultivator is likely to find a grand crop of Cotton bushes with no Cotton, as the manure, without sufficient rain, burns up the plants altogether. All these reasons are urged against manuring the Cotton lands, and they are difficulties which, I trust, with some little trouble, may be overcome." When Mr. Dickson was able, by selection of seed, faithful ploughing and fine cultivation otherwise, and liberal fertilizing, to gather as much as 4,200 pounds seed Cotton to the acre, the India folks at once set on foot experiments, which they are now conducting. The fertilizers were sent out from England by the "Cotton Supply Association." In our own Cotton country, when considering concentrated manures, we have given more attention to their action in individual cases, than to what has been



accomplished on the general crop. In the absence of manageable labor, and an adequate supply of farm stock, it is no insignificant benefit for a planter to have at his command a labor-saving resort like a chemical manure, so compact in bulk that a single wagon can carry to the field enough for several acres, and any child can apply it. Aside from the saving of labor, it has been found to improve the length and quality of staple, and by bringing in the crop several weeks ahead, he is able to extend its growth to the very foot of the mountains, (as witness western North and South Carolina), and as far north as Nansemond and Southampton counties, Virginia. We learn that the staple now raised in North Carolina ranks with the best from the Gulf States.

We cannot break off from old ways all at once; but we are untrue to ourselves and our children, if we do not make the trial, when our condition shows that the old ways are unprofitable. The course, to our mind, is plain: PLANT ONLY AS MUCH LAND IN COTTON AS YOU CAN CULTIVATE AND MANURE THOROUGHLY; AND RAISE ON YOUR OWN PLACE EVERYTHING THAT IS NEEDED TO FEED YOUR FAMILY AND STOCK. Such luxuries for the table as must needs be bought, let them be provided for from your surplus butter, eggs, poultry and dried fruit. You will then find that, when your crop is sold, you will have a balance on the right side of your factor's ledger, on which he would be glad to pay you interest (for the merchants and manufacturers in town always need money to push their operations) until you are ready to use it in enhancing the value of your estate by improvements, or in "giving a lift" to a worthy son who has been made a man by the example of a father who knew how to make available what Providence had vouchsafed him. We are not ryots, but white men, invested by our Maker with the ability to be moderate in prosperity and courageous in adversity. Rivett-Carnac gives an amusing account of the behavior of the ryots, under the good fortune they enjoyed through the high prices realized during the Cotton famine. In ordinary times, the labor of the ryot, at the best, brought him only a fare of little else than rice, and a single pair of Cotton *dhotees* a year. When the big money came, instead of putting it in a shape to render him valuable service in the future, should the times not continue so prosperous, he indulged in all manner of extravagances. He had his ploughshares and the tires of his cart wheels made of silver, loaded himself and his family with ornaments, bought the most elegant stuffs for his *dhotees* and the clothing of his household, and filled his festivals with costly display. He not only spent his living, but plunged into debt, pledging his crops at ruinous rates of interest; indeed, in proportion as his obligation to the money lender increased, in the same proportion he imagined his respectability to increase. In exceptional cases, he improved his cottage and other permanent surroundings; but generally speaking, when Cotton began to decline, he assumed the condition of exceedingly modest living.











FREE TRADE.—We present the following extract from a letter of the Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, 24th January, 1876. As Mr. Johnson is an old whig, republican, and high-protective tariff man, his language now is significant :

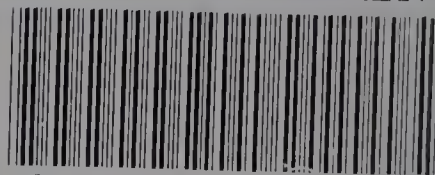
“Some years since I favored the doctrine of protection, but subsequent reflection and study have satisfied me of my error. In my present view, the doctrine is as unsound in principle as it must necessarily be injurious in practice. To tax a whole people, not for the purpose of raising revenue for the support of their government, but to enrich a few by enabling them to engage in a business which cannot support itself without injuring others, would seem to be so obviously wrong as to need no reasoning to demonstrate it. If to tax for their benefit is right and expedient, then it would be equally right and expedient to assist them by pecuniary bounties. And yet I suppose that no one would contend that to do this last would be proper, or even constitutional. The theory itself is at war with the enlightened civilization of the day, and cannot fail soon to become obsolete. Free trade is as superior to it as free government is to despotism.”

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“THE DEBT.—Congress may pass what financial bills it pleases, but resumption of specie payments can only come through Southern production or Northern bankruptcy. The *Day-Book* tells a great truth when it says: ‘The South, Southern production, so-called slavery, with the commerce connected with it, furnished over two-thirds of the capital and consequent prosperity of the country; and that source of national life abolished, dried up, blotted out, it would need about five hundred years of Northern production to fill the vacuum! Meanwhile, leaving out of view the social chaos and dying civilization of the South, there is not sufficient productive capacity in the North to pay the interest on the debt, even if, as in Europe, women worked in the fields, and they all lived on chestnuts, cabbage, soup, and horse-meat once a week!’”



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